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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the social status of women in Filipino culture and the way this is affected by exposure to American culture when they immigrate. First, the status of women in the Philippine social structure is discussed. Perceptions of the role of education are analyzed and statistics given for the enrollment of women in colleges. The results of a 1975 survey of women in the Philippines labor force in selected occupations are assessed. Implications of the Filipino family structure for the status of women are considered as an explanation for the egalitarian status of the sexes. Changes in the political, economic, and social status of Filipino immigrants to the United States are then detailed. Information requested in a survey of Filipino immigrants in "Midwest City" on educational attainment, previous and present occupational status, and income levels before and after immigration is presented. Filipinos' perceptions and attitudes on the status of women in the Philippines vis-a-vis the U.S. are described, focusing on discrimination, divorce, family planning and abortion. It is concluded that the lowering of status in professional careers, and economic and other activities outside "homemaking" is the price that Filipino women have to pay for migrating. (Author/MC)

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A CROSS-CULTURAL CHANGE OF GENDER ROLES: THE CASE OF PILIPINO WOMEN IMMIGRANTS IN MIDWEST CITY, U. S. A. *

By

Antonio J. A. Pido +

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+ Bureau of Employment and Training, Michigan Department of Labor. (Ph.D. Sociology - Michigan State University, 1976). Note: The views in this paper do not necessarily reflect those of the Bureau of Employment and Training and/or the Michigan Department of Labor.

"A Cross-Cultural Change of Gender Roles: The Case of Pilipino Women Immigrants in Midwest City, U.S.A."

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E R R A T A

1) Page 9. Paragraph under sub-title Occupation , fifth line from the bottom of the page: eliminate sentence starting with, "Moreover. . . and ending with "...self-employed."

2) Page 13. First paragraph, sixth line from the top: eliminate the references, Mendoza-Guanzon and Wood-Forbes Commission. Add, Carrol 1970.

3) Page 16. At the end of first paragraph: eliminate the reference, Manglapus 1964.

4) Pages 21&22. Interchange pages and numbers: page 21 becomes page 22, and page 22 (Table 4) becomes page 21. (Change page numbers in List of Tables).

5) Page 24. Fifth line from the top: Table 5 should be Table 6.

6) Pages 26&27. Interchange pages and numbers: page 26 (Table 7) becomes page 27, and page 27 becomes page 26. (Change page numbers in List of Tables). Also, on new page 26 (formerly page 27), third line from the bottom: after the word Table, add the number 8.

7) Page 35. Sixth line from the top: eliminate the phrase, "... one male and two females..."

8) Page 36. Second paragraph, sixth line: in place of "hiya", place shame.

9) Page 37. Fourth line from the bottom of page: eliminate reference to Hawley 1958.

10) Page 39. First paragraph: eliminate reference to Pido 1976, but retain Pido 1977:50-53.

11) Pages 43-45. (References and Suggested Readings). The following references may be eliminated: Adams, T.W. (1968); Conception, Mercedes B. (1960); Manglapus, Raul S. (1964); Mendoza-Guanzon, Maria Paz (1928); and Pido, Antonio J.A. (1976 - Ph.D. dissertation).

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A CROSS-CULTURAL CHANGE OF SEX ROLES: THE CASE OF PHILIPPINE WOMEN IMMIGRANTS TO THE U. S.

By

Antonio J.A. Pido

Abstract.

This paper examined the social status of women in one culture and how this was affected by another culture, mainly through migration. They are the women immigrants from the Philippines to the United States, particularly those in a medium-sized Midwestern U.S. City, which identified in this paper as "Midwest City."

It was contact with and colonization by the West (three centuries by Spain and a half century by the United States of America) that changed the status of women in the Philippines, initially by eliminating women's activities outside the home. One the other hand, Western colonization also eliminated slavery and polygamy. Since gaining its political independence from the U.S., the Philippines has continuously tried to restore the rights that women had before contact with the West. Nevertheless, Philippine society has to interact in a world were the exercise of power is almost a male preserve, and therefore, Philippine women maintain low visibility in positions of power and authority. But underneath the formal structures the power that women have in decision-making process, be it in the family, corporate board room or government is always felt. This is evident in the Country's formal statutes and in day-to-day situations, where Philippine women have rights and privileges that women elsewhere do not enjoy.

This essay posits that the egalitarian status of women in the Philippines is not due to the uniqueness of the social position of women as women, as in matriarchal societies. But rather, it is the result of the high value the society has on status and power and the viability of the family (nuclear and extended) in achieving and maintaining status and power. Any individual, regardless of sex, who is a potential or can contribute to the enhancement of the family's status and power, will be given all due support and deference, even at the expense of other individuals in the group, regardless of sex.

It was determined that the Pilipino immigrants of "Midwest City" typify the "new" immigrants or the "brain drain." Their average age was in the mid 20s, with the women being slightly younger than the men. They had an average of about five years of post-high school education, with the women having slightly more post-high school education than the men. Immigration to the U.S. change the political, economic, social, racial/ethnic and cultural status of the Pilipino immigrants in "Midwest City," from being a majority in their country of origin to one among the many minority groups in the U.S. This change has also had an impact on the status of the women.

In other words, the Pilipino women immigrants to "Midwest City" moved into a culture and social structure that does not give as much respect, equality and deferrence to women, as the one they had left.

For instance, although there was a general decrease in post-immigration organizational/occupational levels among all "Midwest City" Pilipinos, the women's were more pronounced. Also, the women's income levels followed the same patterns with those of their American sisters, i.e. much lower than the men's. Nevertheless, this post-immigration drop in general status is a price that the women and their families are willing to pay for migrating to the U.S. Among the motives for migration is that they perceived that the U.S. gives them better opportunities to pursue their economic and/or professional interests vis-a-vis being in the Philippines, inspite of racial and sex prejudice and discrimination in the former.

Moreover, inspite of difficulties, the Pilipinos in "Midwest City are trying to integrate with American society and institutions to allow their maximum economic and professional participation in U.S. society, while at the same time maintaining certain traditional Philippine values and norms among themselves (their families and the Pilipino community). Among these, is the maintenance of the dominance of women in family affairs, as well as the high regard and defference traditionally accorded to them.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract	i
INTRODUCTION	1
THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE PHILIPPINES	3
Education	5
Occupation	9
THE PHILIPPINE SOCIAL STRUCTURE	13
Implications of the Family Structure to the Status of Women	16
FROM MAJORITY TO MINORITY: THE PILIPINOS IN MIDWEST CITY, U. S. A., 1974	20
Education, Occupation and Income	20
MIDWEST CITY PILIPINOS' PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE PHILIPPINES VIS-A-VIS THE UNITED STATES	28
Prejudice and Discrimination	30
CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS	32
NOTES	36
REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS	37

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Description	Page
1	Percentage of Women Students and Graduates of Higher Education in the Philippines by Selected Disciplines: Academic Years 1955-56 to 1965-66.	7
2	Percentage of Women Enrolled and College Graduates in Higher Education in the Philippines for School Year 1971-72.	8
3	Percentage of Women in the Philippine Labor Force in Selected Occupations, by Employment Categories, February 1975.	10
4	Educational Attainment of A Sample of Pilipinos in Midwest City. U. S. A., 1974.	22
5	Years of Schooling Completed by Pilipinos Sixteen (16) and Older, by Sex in the United States, 1970.	23
6	Occupational Status of Pilipinos in Midwest City, U.S.A., in the Philippines and in the United States, 1974.	25
7	Individual Incomes of A Sample of Pilipinos in Midwest City, U.S.A., for 1973.	26
8	Indivial and Family Median Incomes of Whites, and Non-Whites in the United States, Midwest State and Region and Pilipinos in Midwest City, 1973.	28
9	Percetions Midwest City Pilipinos on the Status of Philippine and American Women.	30
10	Dispostion of Midwest City Pilipinos on Wives Having Better Occupations (Pay, Rank, Status, etc.) than Husbands.	30
11	Disposition of Midwest City Pilipinos on Divorce.	33
12	Disposition of Midwest City Pilipinos Towards Family Planning (without Abortion) and Abortion.	34

A CROSS-CULTURAL CHANGE OF GENDER ROLES: THE CASE OF PILIPINO WOMEN IMMIGRANTS IN MIDWEST CITY, U.S.A.

By

Antonio J. A. Pido*

INTRODUCTION

This paper will examine the status of women in one culture and how this is affected by exposure to another culture, mainly through migration. The women that will be the subject of the paper are the Pilipino immigrants to the United States in general, and in particular a group of Pilipino women in a Midwestern medium-size U. S. city, which in this paper shall be identified as "Midwest City."[1]

The paper will limit itself to those aspects of the Philippine social structure, the traditional status of Philippine women, with which the writer is familiar and/or data is available. Information about the Pilipinos in the U. S., particularly those from Midwest City, are limited to those from a larger study on Pilipino immigration to the U. S., conducted in 1973-74.[2] One major assumption of this paper is that the status of Philippine women and/or the social structures in the Philippines described therein, should be perceived as a dynamic phenomenon, constantly subject to change. And last, but not least, no claims are made that the situations described and/or examined in the paper are exclusively unique to the Philippines or Pilipinos.

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Many Pilipinos in the Philippines and elsewhere have been following closely the women's rights movement in this country, were surprised to discover directly or indirectly the existence of sex discrimination in the U. S. Instances of such discrimination are too well known and documented to be repeated here. Pilipinos have noted, for instance, that whenever a woman assumes a position of prominence or power in any field or occupation, the event gets special notice in the media, local, state, regional or even national levels, particularly if she is "the first woman" to have attained such position. Pilipinos have likewise been surprised that child bearing and rearing have been a hindrance to career development and that there is some disparity in the compensation between men and women doing the same work. Nowhere has this been more glaring than when a faculty member at Michigan State University released the University's salary scales for staff and faculty.

All these revelations, which were brought about by the increased publicity of women's rights and actual experiences in the U. S., were for the most part contrary to the Pilipinos' perceptions of Americans and American women before reading about them or experiencing them in the U. S. Their image of the American woman was that she was among the most "liberated," or at least more so than the Pilipinos. For instance, one image or stereotype is that the American women are more "sexually" free than their Philippine sisters, due to early dating, the absence of chaperones for unmarried women, magnified by the Hollywood image of the U. S. It was likewise their belief that in a society where individualism is stressed over group interests, coupled with the ideology of political freedom and equal opportunity, would lead to a more liberated society, regardless of sex. And last, but not least,

Pilipinos as most people in "developing" societies, were made to believe that it was Western civilization that improved the status of women in "less civilized" societies, notwithstanding the fact that until very recently women headed the governments of two of those so-called developing nations, India and Sri Lanka (Ceylon).

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE PHILIPPINES

The sex structure in the Philippines is egalitarian and ascendancy is bilateral and can be extended indefinitely. Women had and continue to have equal status with the men in fact, although in law there are still some vestiges of its former colonial domination. For instance, at one time both husband and wife could own properties in their own name and children could inherit from both directly. Another example is in the area of employment as well as participation in economic, political and social activities. Not only is there an absence of explicit discrimination against employment of women in any capacity, but women may even have advantages over the men. Employed married women are entitled to from forty (40) to ninety (90) days maternity leave with pay, without loss of seniority, in addition to the regular sick and vacation leaves.[3] Moreover, the recently amended labor code requires employers (at their expense) to provide day care centers for women employees with children. Under the principle of equality between the sexes, the revised labor code also provides "paternity leaves" to husbands while their wives are having babies -- on maternity leaves. However, the government has since limited the maternity leave rights to the first three children (or pregnancies) for demographic reasons,

i.e., reduce the birth rate, which is one of the highest in the world.

Marriage and "homemaking" can be pursued simultaneously with a career or activities outside the home. In addition to statutes favoring the employment of women, the extended family system provides babysitters or surrogate parental care. The upper middle and upper classes can afford to hire servants, and those who cannot, can avail the use of day care facilities.

Considering the statutory provisions on maternity leaves and day care centers, employers (mostly in the private sector) find subtle means of discriminating against women's entry and advancement in their organizations, not necessarily for sexist but also for economic reasons. However, if they can avoid it, married women prefer not to engage in economic activities that take them away from their homes and families (Carrol 1968).

Another example is the elimination of the Western-imposed double standards of morality with regards to marital infidelity. A married woman can now kill a husband caught in the act of adultery and expect the law to be very lenient, or not charged at all.

The egalitarian status between the sexes predated contact with the West. In pre-colonial society, women slaves had the same status as male slaves, just as the women in the noble class had the same status as the men in the same class. In some instances, women assumed leadership positions in the society (Blair and Robertson 1903: 133-135). Nance (1972:219-240) reports that in many instances the spokesperson of the Tasadays, a stone-age people discovered in the rain forests of Mindanao in the early 1970's, was a woman. Agoncillo and Alfonso (1967:42) contend that:

> Women (Pilipino) before the coming of the Spaniards enjoyed a unique position in society that their descendants during the Spanish occupation did not enjoy. Customary laws gave them the right to be equal of men, for they could own and inherit property, engage in trade and industry, and succeed to the chieftainship of a barangay in the absence of a male heir. Then, too, they had the exclusive right to give names to their children. As a sign of deep respect, the men, when accompanying women, walked behind them.

It was contact with the West (Spain and the U. S.) that precipitated the limitation of women's activities "outside the home". The Malolos Constitution of 1899 recognized the rights of women to vote and hold public office (elected or appointed). On the other hand, the U. S. imposed Constitution of 1935 disfranchised the women. However, the limitation of women's participation in economic and political activities outside the home was more than compensated by the abolition of slavery and polygamy.[4]

Education

Prior to the declaration of martial law and suspension of civil liberties in September of 1972, there was very little educational planning on a national level that would tie in with economic development. Education, particularly higher education, was perceived as a means to better jobs, income, status and power. Choice of specific fields were related to: (1) what was perceived as a favorable job market; (2) those fields which were within the capacity of the family to finance, (i.e., medicine was highly desired, but few could afford it); (3) those which were perceived by the family as within the abilities of the student to achieve; (4) those professions that would give status and power to the family; and (5) simply having a college degree,

regardless of whether a job or career would be pursued or not. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) reported that for academic year (AY) 1965-66, the Philippines had the second highest number of college students in the world at 1,560 students per 100 thousand of the population and were exceeded only by the U. S., with 2,840 per 100 thousand. (UNESCO 1968).

Table 1 indicates that for the ten-year period 1955-1966, the number of women enrolled in college exceeded the men, except for the years 1955-1956 (45.7%), 1956-1957 (46.1%) and 1959-1960 (48.8%). During the same ten-year period, more women graduated from college than men, except for 1955-1956 (46.2%) and 1965-1966 (49.4%). There have been no explicit sex barriers in any field or profession, except perhaps the clergy. There have been careers traditionally pursued by and associated with Women, such as nursing, home economics, Pharmacology and education (particularly elementary and secondary education). Others are associated with both men and women, and these include medicine, the arts and sciences and some engineering careers. The latest data available (Table 2) indicates that for School Year 1971-1972, the number of women enrolled in higher education exceeded the men, except for Technology and Engineering (7.9%), Medical Sciences (43.3%), Agricultural Sciences (23.7%) and Law (16.8%). The women graduates for the same year, exceeded the men except for Technology and Engineering (6.9%), Agricultural Sciences (21.8%) and Law (13.0%).

Table 1. Percentage of Women Students and Graduates of Higher Education in the Philippines by Selected Disciplines: Academic Years 1955-56 to 1965-66

Discipline	1955-1956	1956-1957	1957-1958	1958-1959	1959-1960	1960-1961	1961-1962	1962-1963	1963-1964	1964-1965	1965-1966
TOTAL											
Enrolled	45.8	46.2	61.0	51.1	48.8	51.6	66.1	51.8	50.1	52.2	53.8
Graduates	46.2	51.7	51.5	51.9	58.2	54.3	55.0	54.8	58.0	50.7	49.4
1. Natural Sciences											
Enrolled	53.1	57.1	61.9	57.8	55.6	54.0	62.1	60.5	62.0	65.5	60.0
Graduates	33.9	36.0	37.7	40.4	41.1	37.1	33.8	35.3	46.1	51.0	55.4
2. Technology											
Enrolled	7.7	9.5	7.1	6.0	7.0	8.4	9.9	8.7	10.2	12.5	12.1
Graduates	2.3	5.9	5.0	5.0	5.2	5.1	5.7	6.3	10.0	6.9	13.1
3. Medical Sciences[1]											
Enrolled	62.0	61.4	62.7	65.8	66.1	67.7	66.9	68.9	68.3	69.3	71.0
Graduates	68.3	63.9	61.1	61.0	60.9	61.3	60.9	61.1	61.0	66.3	49.1
4. Agricultural Sciences											
Enrolled	14.8	13.3	13.3	11.0	10.3	11.0	13.2	16.2	15.7	12.7	12.6
Graduates	3.8	9.6	8.5	10.3	13.0	17.9	16.6	15.7	18.0	9.6	12.6
5. Social Sciences & Humanities											
Enrolled	48.9	50.1	51.2	50.0	48.1	48.4	47.8	49.6	46.9	46.6	48.4
Graduates	40.8	41.9	42.1	44.5	48.4	48.1	47.6	47.5	48.1	51.6	47.4
6. Business & Commerce											
Enrolled	42.2	42.8	45.6	47.4	47.1	45.9	46.4	45.0	43.4	43.7	42.6
Graduates	53.8	51.3	52.1	52.3	68.6	68.6	68.5	67.7	78.5	48.1	55.6
7. Education											
Enrolled	83.5	83.1	83.2	70.2	83.0	82.5	79.7	79.1	73.8	73.7	75.3
Graduates	77.9	81.3	79.1	78.5	82.3	64.4	64.6	64.1	61.8	57.0	51.7
8. Home Economics											
Enrolled	99.9	100.0	99.4	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9	97.7
Graduates	99.7	100.0	99.7	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.8	100.0	99.7	99.0
9. Law, Jurisprudence & Criminology											
Enrolled	11.7	13.1	14.4	16.8	14.2	16.3	17.2	11.2	10.2	10.3	11.3
Graduates	7.4	8.8	9.0	8.9	8.5	8.0	8.7	8.5	7.7	9.6	10.8

Source: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). National Science Policy and Organization of Research in the Philippines. (Science Policy Studies and Documents No. 22). Paris: UNESCO, 1970, pp. 62-65. (Note: Figures are rounded from original source).

[1]Includes Nursing, Medical Technology and Pharmacology.

Table 2. Percentage of Women Enrolled and College Graduates in the Philippines by Discipline for School Year 1971-72.

Disciplines	Enrollments	Graduates
Totals	40.0%	61.2%[a]
Natural Sciences	66.6	72.6
Technology and Engineering	7.9	6.9
Medical Sciences	43.3	82.5[b]
Agricultural Sciences	23.7	21.8
Social Sciences and Humanities	53.9	54.6
Commerce and Business	66.3	66.3
Normal and Education	90.1	70.8
Home Economics	90.8	99.8

Source: Computed from National Board of Education, Republic of the Philippines. Educational Statistics for SY 1971-72, Vol. 17, 1974. Quezon City, Philippines.

[a]For total enrollment and graduates and not the sum of the individual disciplines.

[b]Based on previous years' data, approximately 10% to 15% of those classified as being in the Medical Sciences are in health-related disciplines, such as nursing, medical technology, etc.

The discrepancies between men and women enrolled and graduated in certain fields is not entirely the result of institutional sex discrimination in those fields in which the men predominate. In addition to the factors that motivate entry to higher education, noted earlier, they are also reinforced by the system of higher education in the Philippines, of which over 80% are non-government. Approximately 60% of the non-government colleges and universities are sectarian, the majority of which are run by Catholic religious orders and congregations. Two of the largest and most prestigious universities who proclaim they are non-sectarian, but have a strong Catholic tradition and atmosphere, are exclusively for women. They are the Centro Escolar University and the Philippine Women's University.

Most of the Christian non-Catholic colleges and universities are coeducational, as are some of the smaller parish-based Catholic schools. However, until recently most Catholic schools were not. All of them offer a basic liberal arts education. In addition, the men's colleges and universities offer career education traditionally associated with men (i.e., engineering, law, etc.). The women's colleges and universities (some of which are college-level finishing schools) also offer career-oriented education traditionally associated with women, such as the arts, education, pharmacology, nursing, etc. During the last ten (10) years some of the Catholic men's colleges and universities have become partially or fully coeducational, while most of the women's remain sexually exclusive.

Occupation

A survey of households in 1975 showed that approximately 32.2% of persons employed were women. In addition to the occupational categories, the survey also had three employment classifications. They were: Wage and Salary workers, Self-employed workers, and Unpaid family workers.

Table 3 summarizes the results of the Survey. Note that although more than half (59.1%) among those employed as Professional, Technical and Related workers were women, only a small proportion of women (19.7%) were employed in Administrative, Executive and Managerial positions. Moreover, a majority (13.2%) were self-employed. This may indicate that in most western-oriented government and non-government bureaucracies, the visible centers of power are still male dominated, but not in family-owned enterprises. Less than half (46.4%) of the women were employed as clerks, while more than half (59.5%) were in

Table 3. Percentage of Women in the Philippine Labor Force in Selected Occupations, by Employment Categories, February 1975.

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS	TOTALS[1] BOTH SEXES (100%)	PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN			
		TOTAL	Wage and Salaried Workers	Self-Employed Workers	Unpaid Family Workers
Total	**13,768**	**32.0%**	**14.8%**	**7.6%**	**9.5%**
1) Professional, Technical and Related Workers	746	59.1	58.0	1.6	0.2
2) Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers	152	19.7	6.5	6.3	- - -
3) Clerical Workers	502	46.4	44.1	- - -	1.6
4) Sales Workers	1,353	59.5	8.9	38.5	12.0
5) Farmers, Farm Laborers, Fishermen, Hunters, Loggers and Related Workers	7,432	20.1	3.0	2.9	14.2
6) Miners, Quarrymen and Related Workers	32	3.0	- - -	3.0	- - -
7) Transport and Communication Workers	510	2.5	2.5	- - -	- - -
8) Craftsmen, Production-Process and Related Workers	1,531	39.0	19.5	19.5	4.1
9) Manual Workers	340	2.0	1.7	0.3	- - -
10) Service, Sports and Related Workers	1,132	66.5	61.7	2.9	1.8
11) Occupations not Reported	38	55.2	5.2	50.0	2.6

Source: Computed from: National Census and Statistics Office, National Development Authority. National Survey of Households Bulletin Series No.45, Labor Force. P.4.(Note: Data refer to household population).

1/ Figures are in thousands, except for percentages.

sales, although the majority (38.5%) were in family-owned businesses. Women dominated (66.5%) Service, Sports and Related occupations. Lastly, it will be noted that a small proportion of the women were classified as Unpaid Family Workers under all the categories. This indicates that a very large proportion of household/family and other unpaid work is performed by men.

Although the data in Tables 1, 2 and 3 are not necessarily the same cohorts, it is obvious that not all the women who graduate from college enter the labor force in their fields of specialization. A recent (1971-73) study of scientists in Philippine educational institutions by John Useem and Ruth Hill Useem of Michigan State University showed that the number of women scientists about equalled the men, with either one of the sexes dominating certain fields.[5] It can be assumed that the expansion of labor intensive industries such as textile and electronics assembly, will enhance the participation of women in the labor force.

Some discrimination against women in employment does exist, although most known participation of women in the labor force is voluntary. That which exists is usually in the prevention of access to jobs and advancement, since overt discrimination in the form of lower pay for the same work that men do is simply not tolerated by law or by the dynamics of the social political process.

Women in the Philippines traditionally have been adept and recognized as more efficient in business than men. In fact, men actually have avoided commercial activity if possible. Women share with men the work in farming, cottage or home industries and in fishing (although less in the latter), and it is women who market the products while the men look after the homes. All earnings by family members are turned over to the

woman of the home, who prepares the family budget and takes care of disbursements, which include "allowances" for the husband, children and other family members. In modern corporate structures women occupy positions in almost all levels "involving money," such as comptrollers, treasurers and auditors. They almost always are elected or appointed as treasurers in professional, civic and other organizations, and they are traditionally held to be wise in the ways of making and spending money. (Carrol 1970:10-16).

The change from family enterprise (farming, fishing, etc.) to wage earning in an industrial urban society has minimized economic activities of women outside the home, except for those who by choice or necessity have to practice a profession or seek wage-employment. If they can avoid it, married women prefer to be homemakers and confine their economic activities to those that allow them maximum time in the home. Among them are managing family-owned stores, dress and beauty shops which are almost always in their home "front stores," and/or sales activities which do not require regular working hours. However, they still handle the management of family finances.

The husband is still recognized and idealized as the head of the family, but decisions are shared equally by the spouses and older children, plus parents, cousins, aunts, sibblings, etc. on both sides. This does not mean that the extended family has to make the decisions for all the individuals. However, keeping as many of the family involved as possible (or at least informed) will assure their support and assistance in times of need. The homemaker role of the wife, however, does not prevent her from pursuing activities such as a career outside the home, provided that these will benefit the family.

Political independence did not curtail interacting with a Western-dominated society, where the core of power and authority is still a man's world. Therefore, it is sometimes necessary to de-emphasize the power and authority that women have. But whether in formal positions of power or not, their power and authority has always been felt, be it in the family, the corporate board room or in the body-politic (Mendoza-Guanzon 1928; Wood Cameron-Forbes Commission 1929-20; Landa-Jocano 1970:59-79). While other countries (including the U. S.) have been recognizing and extending rights to its women, the Philippines, in conjunction with its observance of International Women's Year, are restoring the rights that Philippine women lost through colonization. Among the women's rights being restored was the ancient right of women to own and dispose of property in their own name without the consent of the husband, and the right to engage in activities (i.e., profession) in her own name.

THE PHILIPPINE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The status of women in the Philippines can be understood better by a brief examination of the traditional Philippine social structure.

The basic social unit of the Philippines is the nuclear family. From the nuclear family it extends to a larger group through affinity and consanguinity and through other networks to an extended family system and larger group. The latter includes alliances of families. It is around the family and extended group that Philippine social life revolves.

It demands an almost absolute loyalty and allegiance throughout a person's lifetime, so much so that it is almost possible to predict individual behavior apart from the group. Conflicts of interest between the individual and the family or group are almost always resolved in favor of the latter. The family or group offers (and the individual expects as a matter of right) material and emotional support. This is one reason why there are very few orphanages and homes for the aged in the Philippines. In effect, the family and extended group is the society's built-in social security or insurance system. (Fox 1961:6-9; Landa-Jocano 1972:59-79).

The family extends bilaterally through marriage, for marriage is not only a union of two individuals but an alliance of families and groups. A family does not "lose" a son or daughter in marriage. Instead, it gains a son or daughter plus, of course, an alliance with another group. Prearranged nuptials are very rare, but young men and women are consciously or subconsciously aware of the boundaries within which to seek marriage partners. Unions or confederations of families and groups form a larger unit, once known as the "barangay," (pronounced "bharranguy") the social, economic, political and military unit of pre-colonial Philippine society. Prior to its colonization, there was no single Philippine nation-state or kingdom. The archipelago was inhabited by barangays or a confederation of these. Larger ones comprised kingdoms, under a king or chief, allied or in conflict with each other. Thus it was, and still is, that from the nuclear to the extended family to the barangay, socialization was oriented towards cooperation and communal welfare, rather than individual competition and achievements,

within the boundaries of the family and barangay. This does not mean that individual efforts and/or achievements are discouraged, but rather, that achievements of individuals are to be shared with the group, just as the group rallies behind the individual in times of need.

The barangay was a stratified society composed of nobles, warriors, freemen and slaves. The power structure relating the classes within the barangays was paternalistic, and conflicts were not between classes, but between barangays. Spain, and later the U. S., maintained the structure (minus slaves) and ruled the country through the local established elite. The Spaniards established a semi-fuedal system known as the "encomienda," in which power and wealth were concentrated in the hands of a few Spanish families and local native elites, and until recently this stratification continued to exist. Although much of the base of power and wealth has shifted from land to industry, real estate and business, it is still controlled by the same few families. The press and social spokesmen claim that ninety percent (90%) of the country's wealth is in the hands of ten percent (10%) of the native population and in foreign corporations. Positions of power in most aspects of Philippine life are in the hands of members of these families. Social mobility is possible, but extremely difficulty, although for the last fify (50) years there has been a rise of middle class from the professions, trade and in private and government bureaucracies.

As in pre-colonial days of the barangays, power is acquired, maintained or lost by factions or alliances (barangays) that cut vertically across the social classes. Once in a position of power, the faction will use the barangay to maintain that position. Members from

the lowest classes feel that they benefit from it because they believe (or are made to believe) that it is in their interest to ally themselves with the members of their group who are in power, rather than to ally themselves with those in the same situations who belong to other groups. What was described earlier as orientation to cooperation and communal welfare is true only within the group. The conflict between groups and competition for status and power is as continuous as life itself and is found in all aspects of Philippine social life. This is evident in local parish circles, Rotary Clubs and all organizational behavior in the society. Some of these inter-group conflicts result in violence and tragedy. (Hollnstiener 1963; Manglapus 1964; Corpus 1965; Landa-Jocano 1972:5979).

Pilipinos have been trained to perceive and confront the world as members of the group, rather than as individuals. And, that life is a struggle for survival, status and power, which can only be surmounted and achieved through group effort. Separation from the group which gives support and direction such as homesickness or loneliness become acute. (Guthrie and Azores 1968:3-63). Thus, while Pilipinos value and desire status and power, the conflict for these is between groups rather than between individuals.

Implications of the Family Structure to the Status of Women

Since the Philippines is not known to have had a matriarchal or matrilineal society, it is reasonable to posit that the traditional social structure, coupled with the inter-group competitiveness of the Pilipinos for status and power and its protectiveness over the individuals; are mainly responsible for the egaletarian status of the sexes.

As noted earlier, none of the families lose, but rather gain a son or daughter in marriage. Although ideally this cements that alliance between the two families, marital problems also become family problems of the kin groups involved. For example, although a nuclear family is idealized, a wife never really "belongs" to her husband. In addition to her status as a wife (and mother), she continues to be a daughter, sister, aunt, cousin, etc., to her family of orientation throughout her life. An unfaithfulness or mistreatment by a husband would be considered in offense against her family of orientation. The aggrieved wife could always count on her family of orientation for assistance and support, if she is not able to handle the situation herself. When widowed or when a marriage breaks up, more likely than not, she will want to go back to "her family."

There is no divorce law in the Philippines, although this does not mean that marriages do not break up. A marriage is dissolved by annulment (a long and expensive process), mutual consent of the spouses and kin groups involved, and by "legal separation." The latter is a court decree whereby the spouses are exempted from sharing "bed and board"; custody of the children is determined and property rights and financial obligations defined. However, the spouses cannot remarry while one is alive. Divorces by Pilipinos abroad of marriages consumated in the Philippines, are not recognized in the Philippines. Attempts at legislating divorce laws were constantly opposed and perceived as threats to the viability of the family. There are reports that these attempts are being revived under the current martial law government, by Presidential Decree (vis-a-vis by legislation).

The "cutting off" indefinitely of an unmarried pregnant woman from

her family, after the initial shock, is very rare. In the few instances where she is alienated by her parents and/or sibblings, she can always count on some relative to give her support and protection, which is outwardly disliked by her own family, but with their tacit relief and even covert assistance. However, more often than not, the family of the unmarried pregnant girl perceive the situation as the man's rather than the girl's fault. In other words, it is the man rather than the girl, who is bringing dishonor on himself and his family.

Therefore, it becomes the burden of the man and/or his family to right the wrong done. This may mean marrying the girl or some other form of reparation. Either way, it is a rationale for the family's not turning out the girl and still maintain family honor and status. And most of all, be in a position to help her most without appearing to condone her action.

Rape is not just an assault on a woman (a sex object), but is an assault on womanhood, a person, and most of all, an assault on the woman's family and/or group. This assault on the group must be avenged, if not by law, by the victim's family, which is usually more unpleasant than the law. In the Philippines, rape carries a mandatory capital punishment (by electrocution, a technological innovation from the U. S.). A judge who acquits an accused rapist in the face of what the victim's family perceives as overwhelming evidence risks some retaliation from the victim's family. A defense lawyer who anchors his/her defense of the accused rapist on the victim's reputation likewise risks retaliation from the victim's family, since an assault on the woman's reputation is also an assault on her family's honor. The issue in a rape case is the forced seduction of the victim without her consent and/or no way

of preventing it at the time of the particular assault. A prostitute can sue for rape, a wife can sue her husband for rape. In addition to the provisions of the law, which are stacked against the rapist (sometimes to the detriment of his civil rights), the victim's family will stand with her.

A female secretary, clerk, factory worker or domestic servant, is not just a female employe..role..or sex object, but also a person. And most important of all, she is somebody's wife, mother, sister, daughter, etc. A sexist or chauvinist employer has to keep this in mind, if he wants to remain in relative good health.

The maternity-leave right (or privilege) is not entirely reflective of the equal status and power that women have in Philippine society. It is rather indicative of the society's strong commitment to the importance of the family. While males may complain (among themselves, of course) of the privilege that women enjoy as women in addition to their equal rights a spersons, no one, not even the most chauvinistic, will dare question any system that is perceived to ensure the viability of the family. Maternity leave is such a system.

Another example, is that of education. If a family cannot afford to send all of their children to school, such as college, then it will send and invest its resources to the child or children that has the best chances of success...regardless of sex. Deference and respect for geneological seniority is also extended regardless of sex, i.e., the oldest child (boy or girl) rather than the customary oldest son, as in many western societies.

FROM MAJORITY TO MINORITY:

THE PILIPINOS IN MIDWEST CITY, U. S. A., 1974

Immigration to the United States has changed the political, economic and social status of Pilipinos from a majority to that of a minority group among many. Among others this includes a change and readjustment in gender relations from the traditional to the new and different social structure.

Although the Pilipinos of Midwest City may not be a "true" representative of the Pilipino immigrants in the entire U. S., most indications are that they do typify the "new" Pilipino immigrants. That is, those who migrated after World War II and especially after the promulgation of the U. S. 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act. The groups' mean age was 26.9 years for the males and 26.0 years for the females.[6]

Education, Occupation and Income

Only two (male and female) of the respondents did not report their educational attainments. Among the forty-nine (49) who did, only five reported that they did not complete college. From these, two females completed two-year college certificates, and two (male and female) were currently pursuing their college education. From among those who completed college or more, two had completed professional degrees (medicine and law), five (two males and three females) had Ph.D.'s and five (one male and four females) had masters degrees. The rest had college degrees requiring from three to five years, distributed among twelve (12) different areas or specialities. The men dominated the areas of commerce and architecture and the women the areas of health and liberal arts. (See Table 4).

Insufficient supplementary data and the differences in the educational systems between the Philippines and the U. S. does not allow a comparison between the respondents and the U. S. population on high educational attainment. However, comparing the educational level of the respondents to the U. S. population in terms of median school year completed, the former would be higher. The median school year for the U. S. (all sexes) for 1974 was: 12.3 years for all races, 12.4 years for Whites and 10.7 for Blacks (U. S. Bureau of the Census 1975:118). On the other hand, exclusive of the two respondents who chose not to report their educational qualifications, all of Midwest City Pilipinos had completed high school, and only two reported to being in or ever attending college. Considering that except for three adults who were not born in the Philippines, none of the respondents were in the U. S. longer than sixteen (16) years, their educational attainments place them in the category of "new" immigrants or the "brain drain." (Adams 1968; Bello et al 1969:93046; Pido 1976). The average number of post-high school years of schooling for the group was 4.9 years for the men and 5.1 years for the women - which are consistent with Tables 1 and 2. They are also consistent with the male/female educational attainments of Pilipinos in the U.S., as reported by the 1970 U.S. Census of Population. (See Table 5).

Attempts were made to establish occupational comparable categories between the Philippines and the U. S. Both countries have different systems of classifying occupational categories, although there are also some similarities. The respondents were asked to mention the titles of the positions they occupied both in the Philippines and in the U. S. In consultation with informants who are knowledgeable about occupations in both countries, the occupational classification developed and used

Table 4. Educational Attainment of a Sample of Pilipinos in Midwest City, U.S.A., 1974

Degree and Fields of Specialization	Total (M & F)	Male	Female
TOTALS	51	27	24
Ph.D. or Doctorates			
1) Graduates	05	02	03
2) Candidates	02	02	0
3) Master's Degrees (M.S. or M.A.)	05	01	04
4) Professionals (Physicians or Lawyers)	01	01	0
Completed College (B.S. or A.B./B.A.)			
5) Architecture	04	03	01
6) Agricultural Economics	02	01	01
7) Aeronautical Engineering	01	01	0
8) Chemistry	02	02	0
9) Civil Engineering	02	02	0
10) Commerce (Accounting & Business Administration)	05	04	01
11) Education	01	0	01
12) Electrical Engineering	01	01	0
13) Food Technology and Nutrition	01	01	0
14) Liberal And Fine Arts	06	01	05
15) Mechanical Engineering	01	01	0
16) Nursing (B.S.)	02	0	02
Did not Complete Four Years or more of College			
17) Nursing (graduate nurse, without B.S.)	02	0	02
18) Certificates (not bachelors and less than four years of College)	03	01	02
19) Did not complete Degree but currently in College on Part-time basis	02	01	01
20) No response	02	01	01

Note: In the 1960's, the Philippine Government required a two-year liberal arts education before proceeding to specialized fields. These were called: pre-engineering, pre-nursing, etc. Law and medicine required a four-year College degree in arts, commerce or science before admittance to medical or law school. This made formerly four-year bachelor's degree to five years.

Table 5. Years Of Schooling Completed By Pilipinos Sixteen (16) Years And Older By Sex In The United States, 1970

Years of Schooling Completed	(Male & Female)	Males	Females	Percentage of Females to Total
Total	226,489 (100%)	125,756 (100%)	100,724 (100%)	44.4%
Elementary:				
Less than 5 years	27,585 (12.1)	20,269 (16.1)	7,316 (7.2)	26.5
5 to 7 years	22,109 (9.7)	13,768 (10.9)	8,341 (8.2)	37.7
8 years	12,119 (5.3)	6,142 (4.8)	3,977 (3.9)	32.8
High School:				
1 to 3 years	40,579 (17.9)	23,505 (18.6)	17,074 (16.9)	42.0
4 years	49,965 (22.0)	27,099 (21.5)	22,866 (22.7)	45.7
College:				
1 to 3 years	31,199 (13.7)	16,765 (13.3)	14,434 (14.3)	46.2
4 years or more	45,924 (20.2)	18,208 (14.4)	26,716 (26.5)	58.1
Median School Years Completed		11.9	12.6	
Percent High School Graduates		49.4%	63.6%	

Source: U.S. Census of Population:1970. SUBJECT REPORTS PC(2)-1G 1973:135.

in this study is mostly based primarily on the positions in the organizational hierarchy where the respondents were employed. The self-employed were likewise classified into categories based on the nature of the self-employment. Table 5 shows the distribution of the occupational status of the respondents when in the Philippines and currently (1973-74) in the area (U.S.).

The study also tried to determine any shifts and changes in occupational status from the Philippines to the U. S. The data showed that there were some changes across the two countries. Among these were: those who were working in the Philippines came into the U. S. as students, and housewives in the Philippines became working persons in the U. S. Some had higher status occupations in the Philippines and some had the opposite and are in higher status occupations in the U. S. Or, a respondent may have a high status position in the Philippines such as a private practice, but may be employed in middle level position in the U. S. There were no discernible patterns in these distributions to indicate that any one variable had any major influence in these changes in occupational status. It can be assumed that neither educational qualifications nor length of stay in the area of the U. S. but a combination of these and other factors such as the job market were the major determinants of the occupational status of the persons in the U. S. vis-a-vis the Philippines. It can also be assumed that a high status position in the Philippines does not guarantee the same in the U. S.

There was a post-immigration increase in "Top level" positions for the men (22% in the Philippines vs. 33% in the U. S.); while there was a slight decrease for women (from 16% to 13%). There was a general decrease of "Middle level" positions, but the women's was sharper

Table 6. Occupational Status Of Pilipinos In Midwest City, U.S.A. In The Philippines And The United States, 1974

Occupational Categories	Employment in the Philippines			Employment in the U.S.		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Totals (Number of Cases)	100% (51)	100% (27)	100% (24)	100% (51)	100% (27)	100% (24)
1) Top Level: Professionals, Top Executives in the Government and Private Sectors, Assistant Professors and Higher, Managers and Private Practitioners or Professionals	19% (10)	22 (6)	16 (4)	21 (11)	33 (9)	12 (3)
2) Middle Level: Middle level Executives or Supervisors, Sales, Instructors (college level), Teachers (secondary and lower levels), Nurses, etc.	45 (23)	44 (12)	45 (11)	31 (16)	40 (11)	20 (5)
3) Lower Level: Service and Related Workers, Clerical Workers, Lower Income Self-employed,etc.	9 (5)	3 (1)	16 (4)	17 (9)	3 (1)	33 (8)
4) Others: Housewives, Students, Unemployed, etc.	13 (7)	11 (3)	16 (4)	23 (12)	25 (6)	25 (6)
5) No Response	11 (6)	18 (5)	4 (1)	5 (3)	3 (1)	8 (2)

Table 7. Individual Incomes of A Sample of Pilipinos In Midwest City, U.S.A., for 1973

Individual Incomes[1]	Total (M & F)	Male	Female
TOTAL (Number of Cases)	40[2]	22	18
1) Below - $ 4,000	4	2	2
2) $ 4,000 - 4,999	6	2	4
3) 5,000 - 5,999	2	1	1
4) 6,000 - 6,999	4	1	3
5) 7,000 - 7,999	3	1	2
6) 8,000 - 8,999	3	1	2
7) 9,000 - 9,999	4	3	1
8) 10,000 - 10,999	4	3	1
9) 11,000 - 11,999	2	2	-
10) 12,000 - 14,999	2	2	-
11)) 15,000 - 17,000	3	2	1
12) 18,000 and over	3	2	1
Mean	$8,909	$10,111	$7,467[3]
Median	8,333	10,000	6,666

[1] Incomes are based on 1973 U.S. Federal Income Tax Returns.

[2] Actual number of respondents was fifty-one (51), twenty-seven (27) males and twenty-four (24) females. However, eleven (11), five males and six females chose not to furnish this information.

[3] Mean and Median figures are rounded to the nearest dollar.

(45% to 20%), than the males (44% to 40%). At the "Lower level" positions there was an increase among the women from 13% in the Philippines to 33% in the U. S. And, under the category students, housewives and unemployed there was an increase from 16% to 25%. This indicates that a number of women having relatively higher occupational status in the Philippines suffered a drop in occupational status by immigrating to the U. S.

It was not possible to compare income levels of the respondents in the Philippines and the U. S. on purely economic terms. This is due to the exchange rates between the U. S. dollar and the Philippine peso, the disparity in the cost vis-a-vis the standards of living in both countries, and the variation of inflation rates between the two countries during the different periods of time the respondents left the Philippines and came to the U. S. Attempts towards this end were abandoned. What was examined instead was U. S. income and related information as reported by the respondents. To assure methodological uniformity in getting the income information, the respondents were requested to report their gross income as reported on their U. S. Federal Income Tax Returns for 1973.

Table 7 shows that income level of the Pilipino women in Midwest City is similar to those of their American sisters, i.e. lower than the men. Table is a comparison of the median incomes of the white and black population of the U. S., the region where Midwest City is located (all races) and Midwest City Pilipinos.

Table 8. Individual and Family Median Incomes of Whites And Non-Whites In the United States, Midwest States And Region And Pilipinos In Midwest City, 1973

	Individual[a] Incomes	Family Incomes
U. S. Whites	$4,270.00	$12,595.00
Blacks	3,191.00	7,596.00
Region (all races)	5,439.00	11,947.00[b]
Midwest City Pilipinos	8,333.00	14,249.00

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce. Statistical Abstracts of the United States. July 1974:380-385.

[a]Figures for U. S. and Midwest State are for unrelated individuals sixteen (16) years and older.

[b]Family income is for the region where Midwest City is located.

On the surface, the data indicate that Midwest City Pilipinos have a much higher income than the White majority and the Blacks. It must be noted however, that the respondents are a highly selected group in terms of their educational and occupational qualifications. The income information for the U. S. and Midwest State were computed from the general population which included those with high and low occupations and income. It would be more realistic to compare the incomes of the Whites and Blacks having the same educational and occupational attributes as the respondents.

It can, therefore, be posited that the individual median income ($8,337.00) for this highly educated group is in fact low. The median family income of $14,249.00 is even lower when one considers the high educational and occupational qualifications of the women who are wives and are also employed. In short, the individual and family incomes of Midwest City Pilipinos (Tables 7 and 8) are not commensurate with their educational and/or occupational credentials (Table 4). In effect, Midwest City Pilipinos do not fare any better than most post-1965 immigrants (whites and non-whites) in getting jobs and/or compensations commensurate with their pre-immigration credentials, at least during the first years in the U. S. (U. S. Department of Labor 1974). And, the women fared even less.

MIDWEST CITY PILIPINOS' PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE PHILIPPINES VIS-A-VIS THE UNITED STATES

Midwest City Pilipinos were asked for their perceptions and attitudes of the status of women in the Philippines compared with the United States. The men were also asked their reactions, views, opinions, etc., towards situations where their wives had potentially better jobs (pay, rank, status, etc.) than they had. The women were likewise asked their own views, reactions, opinions, etc., towards their being in or getting better jobs (pay, rank, status, etc.) than their husbands.

Table 9 Perceptions of Midwest City Pilipinos On The Status of Philippine and American Women

Perceptions	Total	Male	Female
Total (Number od Cases)	100% (51)	100% (27)	100% (24)
Philippine Women have better status	54 (28)	55 (15)	54 (13)
U. S. Women have better status	4 (2)	3 (1)	4 (1)
Philippine and U. S. have the same status	43 (22)	41 (11)	41 (10)

More than half of the respondents believed that the status of women in the Philippines is better than American women in the U. S. A little less than half (forty percent and over for both men and women) said that the status of women in both countries are the same.

Table 10 Disposition of Midwest City Pilipinos On Wives Having Better Occupations (Pay, Rank, Status, etc.) than Husbands

Dispositions	Total	Male	Female
Total (Number of Cases)	100% (51)	100% (27)	100% (23)
No objections if wives have better occupations than husbands	78 (40)	85 (23)	71 (17)
Would object	8 (4)	7 (2)	8 (2)
No response	13 (7)	7 (2)	21 (5)

Seventy-eight percent (78%) of the respondents said they would not object or would not feel uncomfortable if the wives had better occupations than the husbands. It will be noted, too, that the men were more favorable to the situation than the women (85% versus 71%). The data

did not show any connection between these views and other variables, except that the data on occupation showed that over ninety percent (90%) of the men had better jobs than the women. (Two of the husbands were unemployed and were full-time graduate students.)

These findings are supported by the following comments:

> Here (in the U. S.) it is the men who hold the money and just gives wives money for household expenses. If the wife works, she spends the money for herself and so do the children who earn. In the Philippines, all the earnings of all the members of the family are handled by the mother for the benefit of the entire family. (Female)

> In the Philippines, the wife is the treasurer, auditor, and even the dusbursing officer and manager. We did not change when we came (to the U. S.). (Male)

> Most of the time we are equal in abilities with our husbands. Sometimes they are superior and sometimes we are. It is nobody's fault who is inferior. But our men in the Philippines do not feel inferior, even if they actually are, because we do not challenge them. They are even proud to proclaim our superior qualities over them. (Female)

> We do not compete with each other on who is better. Anyone in the family, regardless of sex, who is good and is recognized will bring honor to the family. Once we start competing, then we destroy the family and each other. (Couple)

> My experience with working with Pilipinos has made me realize that you cannot work with the men alone, even if they are supposed to be the head of the family. Convincing farmers to use better methods, use of fertilizer, etc., is useless unless you convince their wives and even mothers, who, by the way, also control the finances. (Former Peace Corps Volunteer in the Philippines).

Prejudice and Discrimination

Less than half (41%) of the respondents claimed they have encountered some form of prejudice and discrimination since their arrival in the U. S., three of which claim that these were encountered in Midwest City. Although forty-one percent (41%) of the respondents claimed to have encountered difficulties in employment and professional advancement, only three claimed that this was due to prejudice and discrimination. Two

of these preferred to move to other less rewarding jobs rather than confront the issue, even if they had some legal basis for staying on their jobs and for future advancement. The following remarks may illustrate how the respondents perceive and confront the issue of race and/or sex prejudice and discrimination:

> Of course, the Americans are prjudiced. But after all, this is their country and they can do what they want with it, as long as they do not harm me or my family.
>
> I know I am more qualified than those ... ("expletive"). I know it. My family and friends know it and those who are prejudiced against me know it. That is why they are prejudiced. I feel sorry for them. But it is still better than being in the Philippines.
>
> As long as they do not harm me, I do not care about their prejudice. I know that those who are prejudiced are very inferior compared to me, otherwise they would not be prejudiced. (Elaborating on the term "inferior.") They may have two cars, TV, boat and take vacations to Florida and so on, but as far as their manners and breeding are concerned our servants in the Philippines are better. They are like the new rich in the Philippines, they think their money or diplomas make them superior.
>
> The men are more racist than the women. But as long as you do not challenge their mahood, they are okay. If they want to feel like God, let them feel like God, as long as you know by yourself that they are not.
>
> When I got my Ph.D., I was lucky to get a good job and pay. My experience is that White male colleagues, my bosses, cannot tolerate a non-White woman coming from an underdeveloped country who seems to know more than they. After a while, I just gave up trying to show my abilities in spite of the contrary advice of my frieds (White and non-white, male and female). So I made it appear that any worthwhile idea or work coming from me is theirs. I got appreciated and promoted. The White males are so immature and insecure. But what is important is that my ideas get adopted regardless of who gets the credit and of course as long as I get dood pay for it, let them get the honor.
>
> Anywhere you go you find discrimination as long as people want to take advantage of other people. Here discrimination is by race. In the Philippines it is by class, except for the Chinese. Over there (Philippines) we discriminate against the Chinese, but they exploit us. If only the (Chinese) do not exploit us and our resources, maybe we will not be prejudiced against them.

There is some prejudice against non-Whites. But compared to the Negroes and Indians we are better off. After all, no one forced us to come here. The Negroes were. The worst are the Indians. This was their country and now they are nothing in their own country.

Divorce, Family Planning, and Abortion

The respondents were asked for their views on divorce, family planning or natural birth control, and abortion. These issues are not only potential sources of psychological and intra-familial conflicts in both societies, but are also indicative of cross-cultural implications as a result of migration. Analysis of the raw data did not indicate any trend of relationships between the respondents' views on these issues with other variables such as income, education, length of stay in the U.S., or marital status.

Table 11. Disposition Of Midwest City Pilipinos On Divorce

Dispositions or Attitudes	Total	Male	Female
Total (Number of Cases)	100% (51)	100% (27)	100% (24)
Favorable	43 (22)	55 (11)	29 (7)
Unfavorable	35 (18)	33 (9)	37 (9)
No Response or Don't know	21 (11)	11 (3)	33 (8)

Less than one-half (43%) of the respondents were favorable to divorce, men (55%) favored it more than the women (29%). From the group favoring divorce, four men out of eleven and two women out of seven favored divorce only as a last resort, i.e., if continuance of the marriage would be detrimental and/or would bring shame to the families involved.

Table 12. Disposition Of Midwest City Pilipinos Towards Family Planning Without Abortion And Abortion

Family Planning (Excluding Abortion)	Total	Male	Female
Total (Number of Cases)	100% (51)	100% (27)	100% (24)
Favorable	82 (42)	77 (21)	87 (21)
Unfavorable	1 (2)	3 (1)	-
No Response	15 (8)	19 (5)	12 (3)
Abortion	(do)	(do)	(do)
Total (Number of Cases)	100% (51)	100% (27)	100% (24)
Favorable	11 (6)	15 (4)	8 (2)
Unfavorable	61 (31)	55 (15)	66 (16)
No Response	27 (14)	29 (8)	25 (6)

Eighty-two percent (82%) of the respondents showed

a favorable attitude towards family planning, with the women (87%) being more favorable than the men (77%). Only eleven percent (11%) of the respondents favored abortion. The men seem to favor abortion more than the women (15% versus 8%). Among those favoring abortion (four men and two women), one male and two females favored abortion only to save the health and/or life of the mother.

The preceding data indicate that Midwest City Pilipinos are trying to maintain those traditional values which they find most important, but are also predisposed to change those they consider less relevant in their pursuit of a more meaningful life. Secondly, regardless of what their dispositions might be on these issues (whether liberal or conservative), they are still subject to the structural constraints on both sides of the Pacific.

For instance, a society that places more emphasis on the family as the major determinant of individual and societal survival and development would be expected to go through great lengths to preserve the institutions upon which the family is founded, such as marriage. Divorce is a threat (perceived and/or real) to the viability of the family. However, close to one-half (43%) of the respondents were favorable and 21% had no views or refused to give their views on divorce; while only one third (35%) were opposed to divorce. It was

not possible to determine if there were any post-immigration changes of views on the issue. There are however major structural and cultural differences between the Philippines and the U.S. on resolving marital conflicts. These are: the absence in the Philippines of a legal mechanism by which marriage can be dissolved and by which remarriage can be allowed; the wider acceptance of dissolving a marriage as an alternative to resolving marital problems in the U.S. Midwest City Pilipinos are first generation immigrants who continue to maintain strong family ties in the Philippines. A suggestive, rather than a definitive conclusion on the respondents' reaction to the issue is that a divorce obtained outside the Philippines will have social and legal repercussions with their families in the Philippines.

There is still a strong commitment to the preservation of life, indicated by the large opposition to abortion, except to preserve the life of the mother. In the Philippines, pregnancies outside of marriage are generally allowed to run their full course. While there is some "hiya" initially attached to the unwed mother's family, the family usually takes care of the girl and her child and society tolerates the situation (or even sympathizes with the girl and condemns the man responsible). Nontherapeutic abortions on the other hand are condemned outright so that regardless of how one feels about abortion, no one would dare openly espouse

a liberal position on the issue. In most instances, discharged fetus by miscarriages in the advanced stage are even treated and given funerals as deceased persons. From among the Catholics, the fetus from miscarriages as well as stillbirths are given "conditional" or "emergency" baptisms. Moreover, unlike divorce, abortion is and will continue to be a controversial issue in the U.S. If there is any one issue Midwest Pilipinos feel strongly against, it is legalized abortion. Among those who are U.S. citizens, this poses enough political importance to make them go out and vote; and those who are not U.S. citizens wish they could vote so they could make their convictions and feelings on the issue known.

The respondents' liberal position on family planning or birth control without abortion supports the findings of similar studies conducted both in the U.S. and the Philippines. Generally, education is not only related to favorable attitudes towards family planning, but also to fertility; and that religion no longer has the influence it is reputed to have on people's perceptions and behavior on the issue (Hawley 1954; Pido 1963: 91-98). Moreover, attempts at introducing the concept and practice of family planning in the Philippines by government and nongovernment methods such as abstinence

and the "rhythm method" indicate that the concept is gaining acceptance even from among the rural population (Flavier 1970:157-159).

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Several conclusions and implications may be drawn from the preceeding. First of all, immigration does not only involve a cross-cultural contact between individual immigrants with the host peoples and the latter's institutions, but it is also a contact between two cultures and social structures.

While the other minority groups in the U. S. may have been disadvantaged all their lives, and only recently begun getting some of the advantages of the majority, the Pilipino immigrants had to readjust from being a majority in their country of origin to being a minority in their new Country. Being non-white and coming from a third-world country which was once a colony of the U. S., the Pilipino immigrants have become a racial, or ethnic, economic, political and cultural minority in the true sense of the term. Being immigrants gives them a further disadvantage compared with other Americans who are U. S. citizens or who have been in the U. S. longer. For the Pilipinos, being in the U. S. is preferred than being right on the racial conflict in the U. S. and being back in the Philippines.

The 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act has facilitated the immigration to the U. S. of Pilipino women in particular and Pilipinos in general, with high educational/occupational credentials. First of all, the Act replaced the racially-based national origin quotas with annual aggregate hemespheric quotas. They are: 120,000

from the Western Hemisphere and 170,000 from the Eastern Hemisphere to which the Philippines belong. Secondly, it facilitated the immigration of whole families and immigrants with high educational or occupational credentials. And by definition, at least for the Philippines, this means immigrants from middle to upper social economic classes. Thirdly, although the Act does not discriminate against women, it is selective of those Pilipino immigrants of both sexes, just noted. (Keely 1971:157-169; 1972:177-187; Gupta 1973:167-191; USDOL 1974; Pido 1976; 1977:50-53).

This means that "new" male Pilipino immigrants could immigrate to the U. S. with their families, i.e., wives, daughters, mothers and sisters (if unmarried). And data in this paper and other sources indicate that the women (wives, mothers, sisters, etc.) of these men also have the same social, economic and educational or occupational characteristics. Furthermore, women with certain educational/occupational credentials can qualify as immigrants on their own independent of their male kin. For example, a woman in health occupations (physician, nurse, med-tech, etc.) could easily qualify as immigrant whereas her husband (or brother, father, etc.) who may be lawyers, accountants, no matter how successful in the Philippines, could not. She becomes the principal immigrant while her male kin immigrate as "dependents."

In effect, the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act facilitated the immigration of Pilipino women with middle to upper social, economic and educational characteristics to the U. S., either as dependents or as principal immigrants.

Pilipino women immigrants, in addition to their race, have to confront sex discrimination. Coming from a culture and social structure that extends defference, respect and equality (at least overtly) to women, they have moved into one that only recently is beginning to recognize the equality of the sexes. On the other hand, they still prefer to be in the U. S. since it gives them relatively better opportunities to pursue their professional and economic interests. This is particularly true of medical and health-related occupations such as doctors, nurses, etc. In other words, although the Pilipino women in the U. S. do not fare any better than their American sisters, they are better off, at least economically, in the U. S. than they would have been in the Philippines.

The Pilipino immigrants in Midwest City are adjusting to their new environment the way most Pilipino and other immigrants have in what Gordon calls "behavioral assimilation". That is, assuming some of the cultural characteristics and values of the majority group and host society sufficient to allow their maximum participation in the latter's institutions necessary for their existence and advancement. (Gordon 1964:67; 70-71).

Many of the traditional values and norms such as a strong committment to the family, respect for elders are being maintained, often with difficulty, since these values and norms do not find any support in the new environment. The traditional egalitarian status between the sexes and dominance of women in family affairs is being maintained within their families and the Pilipino communities. A lowering of their status in their professional careers, economic and other activities

outside "homemaking" is the price they have to pay for migrating. And since they have migrated, it is therefore a price that they are disposed to pay.

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NOTES

1. The Philippines was named "Las Islas Filipinas" (Philippine Islands) after Felipe II (Philip) of Spain (1527-1598). Spaniards born in the Philippines of pure Spanish parentage were called "Espanioles Filipinos" or simply "Filipinos", to distinguish them from the Spaniards born in Spain who were called "Espanioles Penninsulares". The indigenous population were called "Indios" (Indians), and the mixed European (Spanish) and native bloods were called "mestizos". When the Country's colonization was taken over by the United States, the name of the Country was Anglozised to Philippines, at the same time all non-foreign inhabitants were referred to in the Hispanic "Filipino". All of the seven major Philippine languages do not have an "f" sound. The people refer to their Country as "Republika Ng Pilipinas" (Republic of the Philippines) or simply "Pilipinas" and themselves as "Pilipinos". This essay will use the English Philippines when referring to the Country, but will use "Pilipino/s" when referring to the people or when used as an adjective. (For a treatise on the term Filipino, see Abella, 1971).

2. Field data for this paper was taken from a larger study for a Ph.D. dissertation in Sociology. The area of the study is located in an industrial and agricultural state in the U. S. Midwest. Although it is not the State's largest urban center, it is the site of the State capital. "Midwest City" comprised the capital city and five surrounding cities and townships. Its 1974 estimated population was 200,000. It is also the site of one of the largest automobile plants in the U. S. and a land-grant university with a 40,000 student population. In order to protect the anonimity of the participants of the study, the area was also identified in that study as "Midwest City," U. S. A.

3. Unmarried women in the government service as well as in most non-government organizations, who become pregnant may be dismissed from their jobs for immorality.

4. Current Philippine statutes exempt the Muslims and other non-Christian Pilipinos from polygamy laws.

5. The field work for this study was conducted between 1970 and 1973. In addition to the Philippines, Scientists in India, Indonesia and Singapore were also included. The field data is now being analyzed for publication.

6. From a universe of seventy-seven (77) adults, eighteen (18) years and older, a purposive sample of fifty-one (51) persons (27 males and 24 females) participated in the study.

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